

political ideology, and the emergence of «Western capitalist» economy can be envisaged as another form of colonialism. The concept of «cultural colonialism» continues to appear in different guises and shades under the umbrella of «progress» and «modernization». In turn, the European West subtly dominates and imposes a form of «cultural hegemony» that threatens the rapid disappearance of numerous indigenous musical traditions. Hence, today newly independent nation-states in the Malay Archipelago are now being confronted question of authenticity. Musical changes are constantly evolving and «traditional» practices are now being challenged by immersing fusion or hybrid musical traditions. This is the result of a «spiced up» musical blend that is rapidly changing the soundscapes in areas of Lautan Melayu.

#### Notes

1. The term Lautan Melayu (the Malay Sea) refers to the Bahasa Melayu speaking areas of the «larger» Malay Archipelago. Bahasa was the main trade language in this region. This term also refers to the ethnic communities living in the pasisir district. During the European colonial era the Malay Archipelago was divided by the warring European powers particularly Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish and the English. These territories were eventually divided arbitrarily without the social and cultural consideration of the native communities. These ethnic communities

have been living together as a single ethnic unit for many generations but now separated by «political boundaries» know today as new nation-states such as Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. Almost all these ethnic communities share quite similar cultural values, customs and believe systems. The national boundaries as we know today were «politically» motivation by each European nation as they carved out the territories and scrambled for control of the lucrative «spice» trade in the East in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

2. Spices traded were mainly pepper, cloves, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon. Europeans discovered the value of spice which acted as a type of preservative for the longevity of easily perishable fresh food when refrigeration was not invented. Spices also enhanced taste and they enriched cuisines. Hence spices were regarded as «valuable» products and greatly desired in the West. An analogy could be made to the discovery of «spices» in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to exploration oilfields today to this present time.

*P.S. My special thanks to ERC (European Research Council) for their support on my research and Dr. Elena Shishkina for having my work presented in Russia./Моя особая благодарность к ЕНС (Европейский Научный совет) за их поддержку моего исследования и доктору Елене Шишкиной за представление моей работы в России.*

**Л. Фр. Хилариан**

*Сингапур*

#### Влияние западной колонизации

#### на музыкальные традиции Востока (на примере Малайского архипелага)

*Ранние европейские мореплаватели XVI в. пришли на Восток в поисках возможности зарабатывать на торговле специями. В конечном итоге это привело к соперничеству и европейской колонизации Малайского архипелага (Lautan Melayu). В данной работе выясняется, какой след европейская колонизация оставила в музыкальной культуре народов-аборигенов. В статье исследуются последствия португальского, голландского, испанского и английского музыкального и культурного влияния на общины коренных народов.*

**Ключевые слова:** Малайский архипелаг, европейская колонизация, музыкальная культура народов-аборигенов, культурное влияние Португалии, Голландии, Испании, Англии.

## Этномузыкалогия и этнокультурология: проблемы науки *Ethnomusicology and Ethnosculturology: Science Problems*

**Gordana Blagojević**

*Beograd, Serbia*

#### RESEARCH ON DANCE IN THE BYZANTINE PERIOD: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

*The topic of this work is to try to re-examine some of the already existing opinions about dance in Byzantium<sup>1</sup>. The researching of dances in the Byzantine period is followed by many methodological difficulties. We need to draw a parallel between them and the presentations of dances created, in a wider sense, in the Byzantine style in other Orthodox peoples, for example in the Russian, Georgian, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian people. The work deals with the social position of dance, i.e. the attitude of the Church and the imperial power towards dance.*

**Key words:** Byzantium, Byzantine, Orthodox, the social role of dances, Church and dance.

**Introduction:** Many experts from different fields have dealt with dance in Byzantium directly or indirectly, mostly art historians, dance historians, musicologists, theologians, historians, ethnologists and anthropologists. To deal with it in the best possible way and to avoid any wrong conclusions it is best to use the multidiscipline approach to this problem. The well-known Greek byzantologist Phaedon Koukoules was the first to write about this issue<sup>2</sup>. After him many experts from various fields started researching. The topic of this work is to try to re-examine some of the already existing opinions about dance in Byzantium.

The research on dance in the Byzantine period is followed by many methodological difficulties. In the first place, by the lack of written sources. Most available written data is about the ecclesiastical prohibition of dances<sup>3</sup>. However, if something is forbidden, it means that it exists and that it is widely practiced. An important source is a book of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945-959) *The Book of Ceremonies* in which dancing ceremonies are described<sup>4</sup>. The most common sources are miniatures in manuscripts, frescoes in churches, icons, the works of applied arts, sculptures, etc<sup>5</sup>. Presentations of dances on frescoes are useful sources for researching, but one must be careful about them. If a dance is presented in a temple, it does not necessarily mean that they danced in this manner in the period when the work was created, or that they used to dance in such a manner in the place where the temple was. Craftsmen mostly came from other parts, often very distant ones, and they could have presented dances from their own parts. Besides, an already existing dance may have been used as a model. R. Pejović pointed to a similar problem in the research on musical instruments which are presented on frescoes<sup>6</sup>. However, the majority of art contents on frescoes dates from the post-Byzantine period<sup>7</sup>.

When we speak of dances in the Byzantine period, we need to draw a parallel between them and the presentations of dances created, in a wider sense, in the Byzantine style in other Orthodox peoples, for example in the Russian, Georgian, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian people. One should keep in mind that old arts of other nations in the Middle Ages had their specific national characteristics which made them independent even though they followed the style flows in the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, they can not be considered a pure Byzantine cultural inheritance and they can be used in the comparative function in the research.

Church questionnaires for confession can be taken as a resource for a research. S. Bojanin gives the example of church questionnaires as a part of the Act of Confessing (which was in the Book of Needs) which had questions related to dances. One such 14th century questionnaire from the Serbian monastery of Dechani has two groups of questions, one group was for men, and the other was for women. The confessor was supposed to ask a man if he «danced or sung in a female fashion», and a woman if she «ever danced or sung demonic songs»<sup>8</sup>. One monastic literary work popular in the Byzantine period was *Parenesis* by St. Ephraim the Syrian where he condemns all forms of secular entertainment. The gusle, flutes, dances and shrewd songs were considered the means of a devil's deception<sup>9</sup>.

## The attitude of the Church and the imperial power towards dance

In bibliography on dance in the Byzantine era one can often find the attitude: *the Church was hostile towards dances*. But was this really true? To dance (χορεύω) in the language of the Church means *to rejoice spiritually*. Nevertheless, the Church did not look upon dance graciously<sup>10</sup>. Most written documents on dance in Byzantium one can find in the canons of the Church, and in the homilies and literary debates in which dances were criticized. The Church Fathers, among whom especially St. John Chrysostom in his *Homilies* and St. Basil the Great, wrote a great deal on the theme. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, the Bishop of Constantinople, (380-382) does not condemn dancing. In the song *De vita sua* he recommends Julian to imitate the dances of Prophet David.

We believe that neither were the Fathers of the Church against dances as they were, nor were the prohibitions effective. Namely, the writings of the Holy Fathers condemned the unruly behaviour during dance, debauchery, etc. In other words, they condemned sin and the very dances which led to it. St. John Chrysostom characterized the dance of professional dances as infernal and regarded the word *dancer* (ορχηστής) as offensive. The Church did not condemn humble dance. On the other hand, neither the anathema of the Church Councils nor the advice given in homilies ever succeeded to uproot any human sin including the sins connected to certain dances. The famous Byzantinist George Ostrogorski warned that *we must not overrate the efficiency of such prohibitions*<sup>11</sup>. As far as the Byzantine rulers are concerned, some of them were not inclined to dances, they even used to banish them. Nevertheless, there were those who loved dance.

Julian the Apostate (Flavius Claudius Julianus) during his short reign restored classical dance with its idolatrous customs. He was the only polytheistic emperor after Constantine. He is known as Julian the Apostate because of his rejection of Christianity, conversion to *Theurgy* (a late form of Neoplatonism), and an attempt to rid the empire of Christianity<sup>12</sup>. A.H.M. Jones observes, «he had developed a passionate interest in the art, literature and mythology of Greece and had grown to detest the new religion which condemned all he loved as pernicious vanity. He was of a strongly religious temperament, and found solace in the pantheistic mysticism which contemporary Neoplatonist philosophers taught»<sup>13</sup>. Livanus, a friend of Julius the Apostate's, wrote *On Dancers* (Περί χορευτών). The same author in 361 in his work *Προς Ἀριστείδην υπέρ των ορχηστών*, supports dancers and the art of dancing claiming that dancing has some beneficial features for the spirit and that the rhythm of the steps moves the body in the same way as the celestial bodies move<sup>14</sup>.

By his law emperor Theodosius I<sup>15</sup> (379-395) not only accepted women in the theatre (on the stage), but also protected them believing that their work was beneficial for the whole society<sup>16</sup>. This attitude towards dancing is shown on the relief that is carved on the Theodosius's obelisk which was raised in 390 in the Hippodrome in Constantinople<sup>17</sup>. Emperor Theodosius is shown in the middle, among his sons and soldiers, wreathing the winner. Underneath them there's a

number of spectators watching two groups of young girls holding hands and dancing to the accompaniment of musical instruments, among which there are two special musical instruments that were kept in the Hippodrome<sup>18</sup>. But, in 393 emperor Theodosius cancelled the Olympic games and dances which were the inseparable part of them also stop.

#### **Social position of dancers and sorts of dances**

Byzantium was a multiethnic and densely populated empire. One should bear in mind that most data is related to Constantinople. This *city of cities* was indeed the centre of the entire life of the empire, its very artery. Constantinople could provide social ties and an open social life only to aristocrats. They had dinners in magnificent palaces, talked, got to know each other better, drank and danced there (*θυμηδίας χορευούσης κατά την τράπεζαν*)<sup>19</sup>.

However, common people lived throughout the empire. The farther they lived from the centre the less they felt its influence – especially in rural parts, far away from the roads. Needless to mention, there were no means of mass communication in those times. Common people, farmers, did not use to travel, and therefore there were probably various ethnic groups in distant places whose members danced in their specific ways without paying attention to Emperor's prohibitions. Dance had the central role in the classical Greek and Roman period, as well as in many cults of other peoples that lived on the territory of the Eastern Roman Empire.

Except for the ordinary people that had fun dancing, there were also professional dancers. Together with actors, dancers were on the lowest scale of the society. They could not partake of the Holy Mysteries of the Church and in that way they remained idolatrous. It was widely accepted that dancers, actors and musicians belonged to the same social level as prostitutes because of their free sexual relationships<sup>20</sup>. Apart from this, Ruth Webb thinks that fettering of a woman's dance was a way to control the presence of a woman in society and her active sexual power over men<sup>21</sup>.

Some miniatures that can give us a certain idea what the dancers looked like are kept in books. Certainly, one of the most beautiful surveys is that on the crown of Constantine IX Monomachos, which is now placed in Budapest. In some of them girls dancing an oriental dance holding headscarves above their heads are shown. A miniature from the famous Chludov manuscript, which is located in Russia, is very expressive. Dancing Mariam is presented in it. It is necessary to underline that in most cases oriental dances were shown in miniatures. Tamara Rice Talbot concluded that skinny girls dancing with body moves reminding to the art of Syria, Persia or India, were more gladly seen, than dancing Greek or South European dances<sup>22</sup>.

Mimic, as a theatrical sort, was very popular among Byzantines of all social layers and different education levels<sup>23</sup>. In Byzantium *mimos* in Greek, and *mimus* in Latin was a male actor who presented different characters to provoke the audience to laugh. Synonym for the *mim* is *pegniotis* (*παιγνιώτης*). A lady actor *Mimon* (*Μίμων*) was being called *mimas* (Greek: *η μιμάς*, Latin: *mima*). This word also refers to a prostitute. *Mimaria* (*μιμάρια*) was a name for public

houses (*τα πορνεία*) in Byzantium. A pantomimist (Greek: *ο παντόμιμος*) refers to a person who imitates everyone and everything. The mimic dancer presented all characters and events without words «acts». Besides, he imitated animals, birds, natural phenomenon, etc. accompanied by music. The pantomimist was a popular kind of secular amusement. The Byzantine mimic dancer (*τραγωδός*) played accompanied by music following the tradition of mimic dancer of Ancient Greece<sup>24</sup>.

As a rule, during the Middle Ages, actors, mimics and other sorts of entertainers belonged to the class of tramps, people not having permanent residence. In essence, they were rare people that travelled freely all around the world, if we take into consideration that a medieval man was very tied to his residence.

But, it happened that one dancer became a Byzantine empress. It was Theodora (*Θεοδώρα*) who was born in Constantinople or Paphlagonia 497. She was allegedly one of the three daughters of Akakios, an animal keeper of the Green faction. Theodora spent some time as an actress in Alexandria and Antioch and reportedly bore a son before she met Justinian I 520. Her beauty and spirit won the emperor's heart. She married him in 525 and was proclaimed Augusta in 527. She became her husband-emperor's counselor. Historian Procopius believed that it was her, and not Justinian, who was a true ruler. She vigorously participated in the decision to resist Nika rioters, stiffening the resolve of Justinian. Theodora had interest in the welfare and the rehabilitation of former prostitutes. She died in Constantinople on 28 June 548 and was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles. The best-known extant representation of Theodora is the wall mosaic in St. Vitale, Ravenna<sup>25</sup>.

The dance spread into the various genres and found its own ways. There were performances of acrobats, jugglers and ropedancers, which preserved from the time of Egyptian Pharaohs, got to Greece over China and India, and to Byzantium over Greece, were popular among people. They gained curiosity of the audience of the whole European continent, although persecuted by the Christian clergy<sup>26</sup>.

The most common dances in Byzantine were circle dances<sup>27</sup>. That was related to ancient cult customs. There were dances danced only by men or only by women, and also those danced by men and women together, which we mentioned in the sources<sup>28</sup>. St. John Chrysostom gave us data about a dance leader (the first dancer) that coordinated the others<sup>29</sup>. St. Basil the Great wrote about lively dances in which the dancers stamped their feet, which also happens nowadays. The most famous circle dance was *Syrtos* (*ο συρτός*), which is still being played. *Syrtos* was presented in Serbian Psalter in XV century<sup>30</sup>. A dance named *Kordax* (*κόρδαξ*) was a Dionysian dance with shameless body moves. It derived from ancient comedy and was persecuted by Church. A dance named *Pyrichios* (*πυρρίχη*) was a sort of a military training performed by armed soldiers. Dances *Ormos* (*όρμος*) and *Geranos* (*γέρανος*) were also circle dances. A dance called *Mandilatos* (*μαντηλάτος*), was named after a word *mandili* which means kerchief in Greek, because people danced it wearing kerchiefs. It was usually danced by oriental nations. A game named *anastenaria* is a kind of a survival of the dance with kerchiefs in Thrace. It is connected with the orgiastic



Dyonisian cult. A dance that belonged to the butcher's guild in Constantinople, danced on the day of celebration of their patron Archangel Michael, was interesting. Saksimo (το σάξιμο) was a dance that was danced in the palace in front of the emperor on his birthday, on the occasion of crowning or during the Brumalia holiday. Soldiers, military leaders and representatives of municipalities danced separately in sections named taksis (τάξεις) or katastasis (καταστάσεις)<sup>31</sup>.

We have data for post-Byzantine period. In 1524 the Italian colony in Constantinople organized a carnival. Women dancers danced in a «Moorish» and «Serbian» manner. Eyewitnesses say that «they were admired and no one's heart was left untouched by the passionate desire including the old men»<sup>32</sup>.

#### Places and occasions for dance

During the long period of reign of the Byzantine Empire the function and significance of dance in society gradually changed. Dance was present as a phenomenon on many different levels: in private and public life, during the annual cycle of festivities and during the lifetime of an individual. As for the private level, aristocrats used to invite dancers to their feasts to entertain their guests. So, places for dancing could be private (private houses) and public (the Hippodrome, the Emperor's palace, open spaces).

Those higher social strata *symposiums* that also contained musical entertainment, were also called *simbotika* («συμποτικά») and they represented an extension of Ancient tradition<sup>33</sup>. St. John Chrysostom in his speeches related to the 51st Psalm, describes the evil provoked at the symposiums by dancers/mimics in a following way: *those who bring mimics, dancers and whores to symposiums by that are inviting demons and devils and thousands of unrests to their houses*<sup>34</sup>.

Every season had its own holiday. Spring arrival was welcomed by many outdoor dancing celebrations. There were women's dances at Easter, nocturnal satirical dances in disguise on the Kalends, dances by itinerant bands of young men on the Roussalia<sup>35</sup>.

The Hippodrome of Constantinople was the sporting and social centre of Constantinople. The word *hippodrome* comes from the Greek *hippos* (ἵππος), horse, and *dromos* (δρόμος), path or way. Horse racing and chariot racing were popular pastimes in the ancient world and hippodromes were common features of Greek cities in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine eras. Exotic animals, for example camels from Africa, tigers and elephants from Asia, animal fights, folk shows based on stories about Alexander the Great, dances and horse races were showed on the Constantinople Hippodrome<sup>36</sup>. Tamara Rice Talbot informs us that in the 10th century, many people coming from eminent families, and even members of aristocratic families came to compete at the Hippodrome. Constantine VIII, not only watched horse races, but was also participated in them and suffered defeats. He competed by the rules applied to all, equal to other competitors. Mimics, acrobats, actors, dancers that had various programs appeared in the breaks during 8 races. On the occasions of state holidays, theatre shows and competitions of athletic groups were organized instead of Hippodrome races. In the 11th century, Constantine, Michael V and Constantine IX adored these amusing shows. Constantine IX loved the sound of the flute, but didn't like other brass instruments<sup>37</sup>.



Picture 1. The Theodosius's obelisk which was raised in 390 in the Hippodrome in Constantinople (photo by Gordana Blagojević)

Citizens that didn't work during the Bright week (a week after The Bright Resurrection of Christ, The Passover (Pascha) of the Lord) had the opportunity to watch public shows. That wasn't pleasant to the Church Fathers, because believers were visiting the Hippodrome instead of going to church. Synod canons testify that it was forbidden to the believers to visit fights at the Hippodrome during those days. The Fathers asked from the emperor Theodosius II at the Council in Carthage to ban Hippodrome shows on Sunday and the other Christian holy days, including the week after Passover, so that the crowds wouldn't go to the Hippodrome instead to church. Since people continued going to the Hippodrome during the Easter week, that question was asked again on the Council in Trull. It was defined there by the Canon 66 that «from the day of the Resurrection the Christ our Lord till the next week, believers are going to church during the whole week. In these days nobody should be visiting the Hippodrome or similar shows»<sup>38</sup>.

Not only that they danced during holidays, but despite the prohibitions and protests of the Church, people all over Europe in the Middle Ages danced in churches and everywhere near them<sup>39</sup>. In 1425 it was forbidden to dance in the cathedral church in Dubrovnik<sup>40</sup>.

Dancing in church is mentioned in sources in 10th century, during the time of patriarch Theophylact. Theophylaktos was the patriarch of Constantinople (933-956). He was a son of Romanos I Lekapenos. Byzantine chroniclers present patriarch Theophylaktos as an irreverent man who cared only for his 2.000 horses. He reportedly introduced theatrical elements into the liturgy and appointed as *domestikos* of the church a certain Euthymios Kasnes, who organized «satanical dances» and singing of street songs during the liturgy<sup>41</sup>. Church dancing later appears in the ethnographic notes in 19th century<sup>42</sup>. This, however, does not mean that it was a rule in the Church, but it is more likely that it was the exception to the canon.

A specific problem is the lack of written secular music. The existing musical documents belong to the sphere of religious Byzantine music, while secular music was not documented. That secular music existed in this period we can see on the presentations of musical instruments and musicians on frescoes<sup>43</sup>.

Some researchers think that dance was accepted

to such a great extent that even St John Kukuzelis<sup>44</sup>, the composer of Byzantine music, wrote one musical piece for dancing<sup>45</sup>. However, the piece in question<sup>46</sup> is the so called *kratima*, a musical form used in Byzantine religious service music where certain syllables are used instead of words<sup>47</sup>. This musical form is usually sung in faster rhythm. St John Kukuzelis wrote in the title of every *kratima* in which manner the piece should be performed. For one *kratima* he wrote that it is *the so called for dancing*. This does not necessarily mean that they danced to it, and for another he wrote that it is a nightingale. Most likely, no one would think that this piece was written for *nightingales*. In other words, this piece was not written for nightingales, as well as the former was not written for dancing.

Saint John Chrysostom stigmatized the presence of professional dancers, entertainers and actors at the wedding ceremony. We have seen that during the 4<sup>th</sup> century at the Council of Laodikia the Church Fathers tried to abolish dances in church wedding. They wanted to minimize the wedding ceremony and to eliminate every kind of amusement. The only thing they managed to do was to force clergymen to leave the wedding when that kind of amusement would start<sup>48</sup>.

Besides, some think that in Byzantium they used to dance in church during the wedding ceremony. We can come to this conclusion by observing the bride and groom going in a circle when the priest takes them around the soley three times, during which time the troparion in which the Prophet Isaiah's prophecy of the birth of the Son of the God by Virgin Mary is sung<sup>49</sup>. Towards the end of the Sacrament of Marriage, the couple is led in procession around the sacramental table on which there is the Gospel – the Word of God. The circle is a symbol of eternity and reminds us that marriage is a lifetime commitment. Christ is at the center of it. During the procession, three troparia are sung:

*O Isaiah dance your joy, for the Virgin is with child; and shall bear a Son, Emmanuel both God and man! And Orient is His name, whom magnifying we call the Virgin blessed.*

*Holy Martyrs, who have fought the good fight and have received your crowns: entreat the Lord that He have mercy on our souls.*

*Glory to You, O Christ God, the Apostles' boast, and the martyrs' joy, whose preaching was the consubstantial Trinity.*

The question is in which period in the Byzantine Empire brides and grooms 'danced' in church? The Sacrament of Marriage has always been connected with the Holy Communion. Changes appeared with the laws of Byzantine emperors, especially of Leo the Wise, when in 893 church blessing of the marriage became obligatory for all. The Church had to adapt to this change and to form a church wedding ceremony according to newlyweds' dignity to take the Communion<sup>50</sup>. Until then Christians had only civil marriages. The order of the Holy Mystery of Matrimony went through several changes. In the beginning the bride and groom were accompanied by the wedding songs and dancing while they were going from church to their home. The Church Fathers suggested that religious songs should be sung instead in order to preserve the sanctity of the rite. Troparion Rejoice, o Isaiah was created in this way, but it did not become the part of the church rite until 12<sup>th</sup>

century<sup>51</sup>. If we take into consideration that Christianity became the official religion in the Roman Empire at the beginning of 4<sup>th</sup> century, and that the Byzantine Empire broke down by the middle of 15<sup>th</sup> century, the period without this troparion is much longer.

There is also something in every ritual which is called the manifest and latent function of the ritual. For an outside observer who is not familiar with the theology of the Orthodox Church, walking in a circle three times may look like a dance. However, one orthodox theologian, Fr. John Meyendorff, writes: «The hymn begins in fact by a call to execute a ritual khorodia, well known both to the Jews of the Old Testament (David danced before the Ark of the Covenant, II *Samuel* 6:14) and to the ancient Greeks; and the triple circular procession of the bridal pair led by the priest around the sacramental table can be seen as a proper and respectful form of 'liturgical dancing'»<sup>52</sup>. However, in the typicon of the Orthodox Church the instruction that the bride and groom and the priest should dance is nowhere to be found. They are taken three times in a circle as a symbol of the Holy Trinity. It is the latent function of the going in a circle, hidden for laymen.

The fresco *Descendants of Cain* (the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century) at the monastery of Dechani (Serbia) presents the wedding ceremony with dance accompanied by music<sup>53</sup>. Originally this scene appears in Serbian medieval art<sup>54</sup>. There is no match for its contents in the earlier Byzantine art. J. Marković-M. Marković point out that in the Old Testament Book of Genesis there is no direct fulcrum for the iconographic solution chosen by the Dechani artists. In between musicians and dancers there is a couple embracing each other.



Picture 2. *Descendants of Cain* (the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century) fresco from the monastery Dechani (Serbia)

The artistic presentation of the dancing of a kolo-dance accompanied by musical instruments, in this composition symbolizes the physical «mischief of people» which provoked God's anger and caused the general Deluge (1 Mos. VI, 1-7)<sup>55</sup>. Two dancers at the end of a kolo-dance hold a handkerchief. One of them, probably the first dancer, is waving the handkerchief. O. Mladenovic observed that the waving of a handkerchief in a dance cannot be considered either a regional or national characteristic, or a characteristic of a certain epoch. As an example, she gives the classical monuments where the corypheus in an open kolo-dance is waving a handkerchief as well as the leader of a Provencal farandole, or ghendbash (the head of the circle) in the old Armenian ghends<sup>56</sup>.

Some think that the Byzantine society «evolved» to such a great extent that they were allowed to sing laments



(=moirologia) and danced in a circular movement in the narthex of the church<sup>57</sup>. However, this form of singing laments accompanied by movements which looked like a dance was documented later by the folklorists, but it did not represent the official ecclesiastical practice<sup>58</sup>. Besides, the narthex of a church is the entrance or lobby area, located at the end of the nave, at the far end from the church's main altar. Traditionally, the narthex was a part of the church building, but was not considered the part of the church proper. It was either an indoor area separated from the nave by a screen or rail, or an external structure such as a porch. The purpose of the narthex was to allow those not eligible for admittance into the general congregation (particularly catechumens and penitents) to hear and partake in the service. Even if dancing had been allowed (there are no written documents about it, though) there is a difference between dancing in the narthex, in the nave and in the altar of the church<sup>59</sup>. Saint John Chrysostom thought that laments were real insults. He gave a description of women howling, constantly hitting their chests, pulling out their hair by movements like in a wild dance<sup>60</sup>.

### Conclusion

During the long period of reign of the Byzantine Empire the function and significance of dancing in society gradually changed. Byzantium was a multiethnic and densely populated empire. Apart from Greeks, the other nations with their dancing practice lived there. But, unfortunately most data we have are related to Constantinople.

The usual viewpoint is that the Church fought against dance and dancers. However, I would like to point out the other possible viewpoint, i.e. that the Church Fathers preached virtue, and that the dance of professional dancers was something that led people into sin. In favor of that is the fact that in the church language the term for «the dance» is used to metaphorically express the spiritual joy, therefore, nobody fought against a humble dance. On the other hand, in church rituals there are movements that may look like a dance to an outside observer. I believe that an anthropological approach is useful here and that it is necessary to take into consideration the opinions of the participants in these rituals. Besides, if people really danced in some churches, it is necessary to point out that it wasn't regulated by church regulations but it appeared as an exception.

After the fall of Byzantium, in the changed social relations, Orthodox Church, except of its religious, got the function of guarding the national identity among orthodox people in the Balkans. Among the other changes, this also changed attitudes to dance. The priest who, as we have seen, had to withdraw before the appearing of dancers, now got the role of the first dancer.

### Notes

1. This paper is the result of Project no. 177022: National culture of Serbs between the East and the West, by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia.

2. Φ. Κουκουλές, Ο χορός παρά Βυζαντινοίς, Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 14, Αθήναι 1938, pp. 217-257; Φ. Κουκουλές, Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός, τόμ. 5, Αθήνα 1952, pp. 206-244.

3. See: Ράλλης Γ. Α. / Ποτλής Μ., Σύνταγμα των

θείων και ιερών Κανόνων των τε αγίων και πανευφύμων Αποστόλων και των ιερών Οικουμενικών και Τοπικών Συνόδων, και των κατά μέρος αγίων Πατέρων, τομ. 2, Αθήνησιν 1852, τομ. 3, Αθήνησιν 1853 (φωτομ. Ανατύπωση, Αθήνα 1966).

4. Albert Vogt (ed.), Constantin VII Porphyrogenete, Le Livre des Ceremonies, tome II, Paris 1939.

5. See: Το Βυζάντιο ως οικουμένη, Αθήνα 2001; Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Αθήνα 2002.

6. Р. Пејовић, Представе инструмената у средњовековној Србији, САНУ, Београд 1984.

7. More information about dance in the Post-Byzantine monumental religious painting see in: Μ. Παρχαρίδου-Αναγνώστου, Ο χορός στη μεταβυζαντινή μνημειακή εκκλησιαστική ζωγραφική (15ος -19ος αι.), Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, pp. 50-58.

8. Требник, Дечани No 67, л. 44б, л. 45б (м.ф. НБС А 4522), наведено према: С. Бојанин, Забаве и светковине у средњовековној Србији, Београд 2005, p. 334.

9. Паренесис Јефрема Сирина из 1337. године, АСАНУ No 60, л. 148а-б - С. Бојанин, Забаве и светковине у средњовековној Србији, Београд 2005, p. 334.

10. Κ. Καλοκύρης, Ορθοδοξία και χορευτικές εκδηλώσεις μέσα και γύρω στις εκκλησίες. Λόγος πανηγυρικός, Θεσσαλονίκη 1983, p. 14.

11. Г. Острогорски, Историја Византије, Београд 1969.

12. For more information about Julian the Apostate see: Β. Φειδάς, Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία, Αθήνα 2002; Π. Αθανασιάδη, Ιουλιανός, Μία Βιογραφία, Αθήνα 2001.

13. A.H.M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 1986, p. 120

14. R. Foerster, Libanios, On the Dancers, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim 1963, t. 4, pp. 420-498.

15. For more information about eperor Theodosius I see: Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, τόμ. Ζ', Αθήνα 1978, pp. 78-91; C. Mango (ed.), The Oxford History of Byzantium, Oxford University Press, 2002.

16. Μ. Βούτσα, Ο γυναικείος χορός μέσα από βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εικονογραφικές πηγές. Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, 44; Webb Ruth, «Salome's Sisters: The rethoric and realities of dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium», in: Liz James (Ed.), Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium, Routledge, London/ New York 1997, p. 129.

17. See picture 1.

18. Μ. Βούτσα, Ο γυναικείος χορός μέσα από βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εικονογραφικές πηγές. Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, 45; N. Maliares, Die Orgel im byzantischen Hofzeremoniell des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Eine Quellenuntersuchung, Munchen 1991.

19. Β. Βλυσίδου, Ο Μεσοβυζαντινός αριστοκράτης, Ελευθεροτυπία 25. Ιουλίου 2002, Ιστορικά – Ο Βυζαντινός άνθρωπος, p. 34.

20. A. Karpozilos, Actor, The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Oxford University Press, vol. 1, Oxford 1991, p. 16.

21. Webb Ruth, «Salome's Sisters: The rethoric and realities of dance in Late Antiquity and Byzantium», in: Liz James (Ed.), *Women, Men and Eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, Routledge, London/New York 1997, p. 134.

22. T. Rice Talbot, *Ο δημόσιος και ιδικός βίος των Βυζαντινών*, Αθήνα 1972, p. 202.

23. The word *mimos* (Greek: ο μίμος) comes from the Sanskrit word *mayá* which means „a fantasy» (φαντασίωση).

24. D. Touliatos-Miles, *Ο Βυζαντινός χορός σε κοσμικούς και ιερούς χώρους*, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, p. 30; For more information see also: V. Cottas, *Le théâtre à Byzance*. Paris: Paul Geuthner 1931, pp. 35-55; F. Tinnefeld, «Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)», *Βυζαντινά* 6 (1974) 321-343, W. Puchner, *Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen*, Maske und Kothum 29 (1983) pp. 311-317.

25. Theodora, *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1991, p. 2036; About empress Theodora see also: C. Diehl, *Charles: Théodora, impératrice de Byzance*, Paris, Piazza, 1910.

26. M. Jovanović, *Balet. Od igre do scenske umetnosti*, Beograd 1999, 49.

27. N. Isar, «The dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine χορός», *Byzantinoslavica* 61 (2003), pp. 186-195.

28. Μέγας Βασίλειος, PG 31, στ. 460.

29. Ιωάννης Χρυσόστομος, PG 37. 1133, 62.388.

30. Φ. Κουκουλές, *Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός*, τόμ. Ε', Αθήνα 1952, p. 232.

31. Φ. Κουκουλές, *Ο χορός παρά Βυζαντινούς*, Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 14, Αθήναι 1938, pp. 231-243.

32. С. Бојанин, *Забава и светковине у средњовековној Србији*, Београд 2005, p. 324.

33. D. Touliatos-Miles, *Ο Βυζαντινός χορός σε κοσμικούς και ιερούς χώρους*, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, p. 31.

34. *Patrologiae Graecae*, (ed.) J.-P. Migne, 55, 157.

35. Φ. Κουκουλές, *Ο χορός παρά Βυζαντινούς*, Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 14, Αθήναι 1938.

36. For more informations about Hippodrome see: Cottas, Vénétia, *Le théâtre à Byzance*. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931, pp. 3-34.

37. T. Rice Talbot, *Ο δημόσιος και ιδικός βίος των Βυζαντινών*, Αθήνα 1972, p. 201.

38. Φ. Κουκουλές, *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, τόμ. 5, Αθήνα 1952.

39. E. K. Chambers, *The mediaeval Stage* I, pp. 161-162.

40. Б. Недељковић, *Liber Viridis*, САНУ, Београд 1984, глава 194; К. Јиречек, *Историја Срба II*, p. 294.

41. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1991, p. 2068.

42. К. Μάνος, *Λαογραφία Επταχωρίου – Βοίου*, Αθήνα 1962, p. 76; Δ. Σακκάς, *Κοινωνιογράφημα Μεγάρων*, Αθήνα 1966, 1972; Ο. Κ. Κλήμης, *Δρώμενα*

και έθιμα του κερκυραϊκού λαού, Κέρκυρα 1987, p. 85.

43. About musical instruments in the festive events of the Byzantines see: N. Maliaras, *Die Orgel im byzantinischen Hofzeremoniell des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Eine Quellenuntersuchung*, Munchen 1991; N. Μαλιάρας, *Μουσικά όργανα στους χορούς και τις διασκέδες των Βυζαντινών*, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, pp. 67-71; N. Μαλιαράς, *Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα*, Αθήνα 2007.

44. Τ. Καλογερόπουλος, *Το λεξικό της Ελληνικής Μουσικής – Από τον Ορφέα έως σήμερα*, τόμ. 3, Αθήνα 1998, pp. 282-283.

45. D. Touliatos-Miles, *Ο Βυζαντινός χορός σε κοσμικούς και ιερούς χώρους*, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, p. 35.

46. Athens MS 2604, f. 136r

47. Τ. Καλογερόπουλος, *Το λεξικό της Ελληνικής Μουσικής – Από τον Ορφέα έως σήμερα*, τόμ. 3, Αθήνα 1998, p. 325.

48. Μικιόζος Μιχάλης, *Ο βυζαντινός γάμος ως κοσμική τελετή*, 12ο διεθνές συνέδριο για την έρευνα του χορού, Αθήνα 1998.

49. D. Touliatos-Miles, *Ο Βυζαντινός χορός σε κοσμικούς και ιερούς χώρους*, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, p. 34.

50. Π. Σκαλτσής, *Γάμος και Θεία Λειτουργία (συμβολή στην ιστορία και τη θεολογία της λατρείας)*, εκδ. Π. Πουρνάρα 1998, pp. 158-161; Φ. Κουκουλές, *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, τόμ. 4, Αθήνα 1951, p. 93.

51. Manuscripts containing the «Holy dance» («Ιερός χορός») in the wedding ceremony are in the following libraries: Leningrad 559 (IX-X v.), National Library of Greece (Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη Ελλάδος) 662 (XII-XIV v.), the Great Lavra (the Holy Mountain), (Μ. Λαύρας) Λ 105 (XV v.), Patmos, (Πάτμου) 690 (XV v.), Sinai, (Σινά) 689 (XV v.), Vatopedi. (Βατοπεδίου) 322 (XIV v.), Синај (Σινά) 980 (XVI v.).

52. Fr. John Meyendorff, *Marriage, an Orthodox Perspective*, Crestwood, NY: SVS Press, 1975.

53. See picture 2. I would like to thank monks from the monastery Dechani (Serbia) for giving me this picture and deacon Uros Nisavic for helping me take it.

54. М. Благојевић, *Челници манастира Дечани*, у: Дечани и византијска уметност средином XIV века, Међународни научни скуп поводом 650 година манастира Дечана, септембар 1985, САНУ, Београд 1989, 21-34; М. Марковић, *Циклус Великих празника*, in: Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана. Грађа и студије, ed. В. Ђурић САНУ, Београд 1995, pp. 107-120.

55. Ј. Марковић-М. Марковић, *Циклус Генезе и старозаветне фигуре у параклису Св. Димитрија*, in: Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана. Грађа и студије, ed. В. Ђурић САНУ, Београд 1995, p. 338.

56. О. Младеновић, *Коло у Јужних словена*, Београд, p. 142.

57. D. Touliatos-Miles, *Ο Βυζαντινός χορός σε κοσμικούς και ιερούς χώρους*, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91, Ιούνιος 2004, pp. 31-32.

58. Γ. Α. Μέγας, *Ζητήματα ελληνικής λαογραφίας*, Επετηρίς του Λαογραφικού Αρχείου, 1940.

59. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume X, New York 1911.

60. Migne, PG 63 στ. 811, 61, στ. 390, 52 στ. 576, 59 στ. 467.

### **Bibliography Cyrillic alphabet**

*Благојевић М.* Челници манастира Дечани, у: Дечани и византијска уметност средином XIV века, Међународни научни скуп поводом 650 година манастира Дечана, септембар 1985, САНУ. – Београд, 1989.

*Бојанин С.* Забаве и светковине у средњовековној Србији. – Београд, 2005.

*Јуречек К.* Историја Срба II. – Београд, 1952.

*Марковић М.*, Циклус Великих празника, у: Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана. Грађа и студије, В. Ђурић (ур.) САНУ. – Београд, 1995.

*Марковић Ј.-М.* Марковић, Циклус Генезе и старозаветне фигуре у параклису Св. Димитрија, in: Зидно сликарство манастира Дечана. Грађа и студије, В. Ђурић (ур.) САНУ. – Београд, 1995.

*Младеновић О.* Коло у Јужних словена, Етнографски институт САНУ, Посебна издања, књ. 4. – Београд, 1973.

*Недељковић Б.* Liber Viridis, САНУ. – Београд, 1984.

*Острогорски Г.* Историја Византије. – Београд, 1969.

*Пејовић Р.* Представе инструмената у средњовековној Србији, САНУ. – Београд, 1984.

### **Greek alphabet**

*Βλυσίδου Β.* Ο Μεσοβυζαντινός αριστοκράτης, Ιστορικά – Ο Βυζαντινός άνθρωπος, Ελευθεροτυπία 25. – Ιουλίου, 2002.

*Βούτσα Μ.* Ο γυναικείος χορός μέσα από βυζαντινές και μεταβυζαντινές εικονογραφικές πηγές. Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91. – Ιούνιος, 2004.

Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους, τόμ. Ζ'. – Αθήνα, 1978.

Καλογερόπουλος Τ. Το λεξικό της Ελληνικής Μουσικής – Από τον Ορφέα έως σήμερα, τόμ. 3. – Αθήνα, 1998.

*Καλοκύρης Κ.* Ορθοδοξία και χορευτικές εκδηλώσεις μέσα και γύρω στις εκκλησίες. Λόγος πανηγυρικός. – Θεσσαλονίκη, 1983.

Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο. – Αθήνα, 2002.

*Κλήμης Ο. Κ.* Δρώμενα και έθιμα του κερκυραϊκού λαού. – Κέρκυρα, 1987.

*Κουκουλές Φ.* Ο χορός παρά Βυζαντινούς, Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών 14. – Αθήναι, 1938.

*Κουκουλές Φ.* Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός, τόμ. Δ'. – Αθήνα, 1951.

*Κουκουλές Φ.* Βυζαντινών βίος και πολιτισμός, τόμ. Ε'. – Αθήνα, 1952.

*Μαλιάρας Ν.* Μουσικά όργανα στους χορούς και τις διασκέδες των Βυζαντινών, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91. – Ιούνιος, 2004.

*Μαλιάρας Ν.* Βυζαντινά μουσικά όργανα – Αθήνα, 2007.

*Μέγας Γ. Α.* Ζητήματα ελληνικής λαογραφίας, Επετηρίς του Λαογραφικού Αρχείου, 1940.

*Μικιόζος Μ.* Ο βυζαντινός γάμος ως κοσμική τελετή, 12ο διεθνές συνέδριο για την έρευνα του χορού. – Αθήνα, 1998.

*Μάνος Κ.* Λαογραφία Επταχωρίου – Βοίου. – Αθήνα, 1962.

*Παρχαρίδου-Αναγνώστου Μ.* Ο χορός στη μεταβυζαντινή μνημειακή εκκλησιαστική ζωγραφική (15ος -19ος αι.), Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91. – Ιούνιος, 2004.

*Ράλλης Γ. Α.* / Ποτλής Μ. Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών Κανόνων των τε αγίων και πανευφύμων Αποστόλων και των ιερών Οικουμενικών και Τοπικών Συνόδων, και των κατά μέρος αγίων Πατέρων, том. 2, Αθήνησιν 1852, том. 3, Αθήνησιν 1853 (φωτομ. Ανατύπωση, Αθήνα 1966).

*Σακκάς Δ.* Κοινωνιογράφημα Μεγάρων. – Αθήνα, 1966.

*Σκαλτσής Π.* Γάμος και Θεία Λειτουργία (συμβολή στην ιστορία και τη θεολογία της λατρείας), εκδ. Π. Πουρνάρα, 1998.

Το Βυζάντιο ως οικουμένη, Βυζαντινό και Χριστιανικό Μουσείο. – Αθήνα, 2001.

*Φειδάς Β.* Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία. – Αθήνα, 2002; Π. Αθανασιάδη, Ιουλιανός, Μία Βιογραφία. – Αθήνα, 2001.

### **Latin alphabet**

*Cottas V.* Le théâtre à Byzance. – Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931.

*Chambers E. K.* The mediaeval Stage I, 1903.

*Diehl C.* Théodora, impératrice de Byzance. – Paris, Piazza, 1910.

*Foerster R.* Libanios, On the Dancers, t. 4, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, Hildesheim, 1963.

*Isar N.* «The dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine χορός», Byzantinoslavica 61 (2003).

*Jones A.H.M.* The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey, Johns Hopkins University. – Baltimore, 1986.

*Jovanović M.* Balet. Od igre do scenske umetnosti. – Beograd, 1999.

*Karpozilos A.*, Actor, The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Oxford University Press, vol. 1, Oxford, 1991.

*Mango C.* (ed.). The Oxford History of Byzantium, Oxford University Press, 2002.

*Maliaras N.* Die Orgel im byzantinischen Hofzeremoniell des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Eine Quellenuntersuchung. – Munchen, 1991.

*Meyendorff Fr. John.* Marriage, an Orthodox Perspective, Crestwood, NY: SVS Press, 1975.

*Migne J.-P.* (ed.). Patrologiae Graecae, PG 29-32, PG 35-37, PG 47-64, 1866.

*Puchner W.* Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen, Maske und Kothum 29 (1983).

*Talbot R.* Ο δημόσιος και ιδιός βίος των Βυζαντινών. – Αθήνα, 1972.

*Touliatos-Miles D.* Ο Βυζαντινός χορός σε κοσμικούς και ιερούς χωρούς, Αρχαιολογία&Τέχνες, τεύχος 91. – Ιούνιος, 2004.

*Tinnefeld F.* «Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)», Βυζαντινά 6 (1974).

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, Oxford University Press. – Oxford, 1991.

The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume X. – New York, 1911.

*Vogt A.* (ed.). Constantin VII Porphyrogenete, Le Livre des Ceremonies, tome II. – Paris, 1939.





Гордана Благович

Белград, Сербия

**Исследования танцев в византийский период:  
антропологические перспективы**

*В данной работе предпринимается попытка пересмотреть некоторые из уже существующих мнений о роли и развитии танцев в Византии. Изучение танцев в византийский период связано со многими методологическими трудностями. Для исследования нам нужно провести параллель между танцами этого периода и проанализировать танцы, созданные в византийском стиле другими православными народами, например, России, Грузии, а также танцы сербского, румынского и болгарского народов. Работа посвящена социальной роли танцев, т.е. рассматривается отношение церкви и имперской власти к народным танцам.*

**Ключевые слова:** Византия, танцы византийского периода, православие, социальная роль танцев, церковь и танцы.

А.Х. Гольденберг

Волгоград, Россия

**СЮЖЕТ ФРАНЦУЗСКОЙ НАРОДНОЙ ПЕСНИ  
В МИФОПОЭТИКЕ РУССКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ**

*В статье анализируется роль французской народной песни «Мальбрук» в поэме «Мертвые души». Выявляется ее связь с мифологемой Чичикова как переодетого Наполеона. Сопоставляется специфика развития сюжета песни в русском фольклоре, «Мертвых душах» Гоголя, «Войне и мире» Толстого и «Преступлении и наказании» Достоевского.*

**Ключевые слова:** народная песня, мифопоэтика, русская литература.

В истории европейской музыкальной культуры существуют т.н. «бродячие сюжеты», к числу которых относится популярная французская народная песня «Malborough s'en va-t-en guerre». Эта солдатская песенка была создана около 1709 г. во времена Людовика XIV на основе ложных слухов о гибели английского военачальника герцога Мальборо (1650-1722), очень удачно воевавшего в то время с Францией. В ней поется о том, что напрасно англичане ожидают возвращения герцога с войны. Прошла Пасха, затем Троица, а Мальбука (так называли герцога французы) все нет и нет. Наконец является паж, который и рассказывает герцогине о гибели мужа и его погребении – о том, как проводжали полководца в последний путь его верные офицеры: один нес его латы, другой – его щит, третий – его большую саблю, а четвертый ничего не нес.

Потом песенка забылась и вновь всплыла в 1781 г. в Версале – ее напевала новорожденному наследнику французского престола привезенная из глухой провинции кормилица дофина. Вслед за ней песню запела королева Мария Антуанетта, затем Людовик XVI, потом весь двор и вся Франция.

Популярную мелодию использовал Бомарше в романсе пажа из «Женитьбы Фигаро» (II д., сц. 4). Шутливая песня, в которой мажорный мотив военного похода причудливо сочетался с лирической темой ожидания героя и пародийным описанием похорон, распространилась по всей Европе. В качестве странствующего фольклорного сюжета она была зафиксирована в конце XVIII в. в Германии, Дании, Голландии, Англии, Каталонии, Пьемонте [9, с. 356-361]. Гете писал в дневнике своего итальянского путешествия: «Мальбрук слышен на всех улицах» (Верона, 17 сентября 1786 г.). Новую жизнь она получила в эпоху наполеоновских войн

среди французских солдат. Да и сам император, по свидетельству современников, любил напевать ее, отправляясь в поход.

Бетховен воспользовался этим мотивом для музыкальной характеристики французов в симфонической поэме «Победа Веллингтона, или Битва при Виттории» (1813). В ее начале англичане строятся под мелодию марша «Правь, Британия»; французы – под тему «Мальбука», поначалу не имеющую в себе ничего карикатурного и отмеченную разве что некоторым хвастливым легкомыслием. Затем следует вызов на бой и начинается само сражение, в котором, помимо оркестровых средств, используются шумы – пушечная и ружейная батареи. Англичане одерживают победу, французы бегут. Мелодия «Мальбука» появляется в миноре и с некоторым «прихрамыванием». Композитор писал «Битву» по заказу венского пианиста и выдающегося изобретателя-самоучки Иоганна Мельцеля. Среди изобретенных им механических музыкальных аппаратов был пангармоникон, для которого и предназначалось сочинение Бетховена. Аппарат представлял собой красиво отделанный механический орган, устроенный наподобие шарманки. Чтобы продвинуть свое изобретение, Мельцель попросил композитора сделать переложение для симфонического оркестра, которое стало для Бетховена настоящим триумфом. Для исполнения в крупнейших музыкальных залах Вены были приглашены самые знаменитые музыканты, Бетховен выступил в роли дирижера. Эта батальная симфония, в которой композитором был использован целый арсенал натуралистических изобразительных средств – оглушительная канонада пушек, свист ядер, разрывы гранат, – не раз исполнялась с необычайным успехом во время Венского конгресса 1814 г. и принесла ее автору



Министерство культуры Астраханской области  
Государственный фольклорный центр  
«Астраханская песня»

*The Ministry of Culture of the Astrakhan Region  
The State Folklore Center  
«Astrakhanskaya Pesnya»*

# PAX SONORIS

*Научный журнал*

*Выпуск VI*

*Scientific Magazine*

*Edition VI*

*Астрахань*

*Astrakhan*

*2012*

ББК 85.310 (2)  
Р 136  
УДК 781.072.3

Научный журнал  
*Scientific Magazine*  
«PAX SONORIS»  
Выпуск VI / *Edition VI*

Печатается по решению научно-методического отдела  
ОГБУК «Государственный фольклорный центр «Астраханская песня»  
Министерства культуры Астраханской области

*Published on the initiative of the Research Department  
of the State Folklore Center «Astrakhanskaya Pesnya»  
of the Ministry of Culture of the Astrakhan Region*

**Главный редактор – доктор искусствоведения Е.М. Шишкина (Астрахань)**  
**Chief editor – E.M. Shishkina (Astrakhan)**

**Редакционная коллегия выпуска:**  
***Editorial board of the Edition:***

**Б.Г. Ашхотов** – доктор искусствоведения (Нальчик)  
**B.G. Ashkhotov** – *Ph.D. in Art Studies (Nalchik)*

**И.В. Мациевский** – заслуженный деятель искусств Украины и Польши, академик РАЕН, доктор искусствоведения (Санкт-Петербург)  
**I.V. Matsievsky** – *the Honoured Art Worker of Ukraine and Poland, member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Ph.D. in Art Studies (Saint-Petersburg)*

**В.И. Нилова** – доктор искусствоведения (Петрозаводск)  
**V.I. Nilova** – *Ph.D. in Art Studies (Petrozavodsk)*

**А.И. Рахаев** – доктор искусствоведения (Нальчик)  
**A.I. Rakhayev** – *Ph.D. in Art Studies (Nalchik)*

**А.С. Ярешко** – доктор искусствоведения (Саратов)  
**A.S. Yaresko** – *Ph.D. in Art Studies (Saratov)*

**Т.В. Карташова** – доктор искусствоведения (Саратов)  
**T.V. Kartashova** *Ph.D. in Art Studies (Saratov)*

**К.К. Логинов** – кандидат исторических наук (Петрозаводск)  
**K.K. Loginov** – *Cand. Sc. (History) (Petrozavodsk)*

**М.Г. Хрущева** – кандидат искусствоведения (Астрахань)  
**M.G. Khrushcheva** – *Ph.D. in Art Studies (Astrakhan)*

**Международный редакционный совет**  
***Member of International Editorial council***

**Бернхард Бляйбингер** – доктор этномузыкологии, адъюнкт-профессор музыкального департамента Университета Форт-Хэр (Элис, Южная Африка).  
**Dr. Bernhard Bleibinger** – *HOD and Associate Professor Music Department University of Fort Hare (Alice, South Africa)*

**Гороховик Елена Маратовна** – кандидат искусствоведения, доцент Белорусской государственной академии музыки (Минск, Беларусь)  
**Gorokhovik Elena** – *Ph.D., Associate Professor of the Belarussian State Academy of Music (Minsk, Belarus)*



**Дона Манараньяни Калинга Ласанти** – доктор наук в области музыкологии, преподаватель Университета Коломбо, координатор и представитель Шри-Ланки в Международном совете по традиционной музыке (Коломбо, Шри-Ланка)

*Dona Manaranjanie Kalinga Lasanthi – Ph.D. in Musicology, Visiting Professor at the Department of Musicology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Liaison Officer representing Sri Lanka in the ICTM (Colombo, Sri Lanka)*

**Каратыгина Маргарита Ивановна** – доктор искусствоведения, профессор Московской государственной консерватории (Москва, Россия)

*Dr. Margaret Karatygina – Doctor of Arts, Professor of Moscow State Conservatory (Moscow, Russia)*

**Книжникова-Бочанелли Елена Петровна** – преподаватель колледжа искусств (Верона, Италия)

*Knizhnikova-Bochanelli Elena – Lecturer at Art College (Verona, Italy)*

**Мушкальская Божена** – доктор искусствоведения, профессор Вроцлавского университета (Вроцлав, Польша)

*Dr. Bozena Mushkalska – Doctor of Arts, Professor, University of Wroclaw (Wroclaw, Poland)*

**Петтан Сванибор** – доктор наук, профессор этномузыкологии Университета Любляны, президент Международного совета по традиционной музыке (Любляна, Словения)

*Svanibor Pettan – Ph.D., Professor in Ethnomusicology at the University of Ljubljana, President of the International Council for Traditional Music (Ljubljana, Slovenia)*

**Скиллстад Мюллер Кьелл** – почетный профессор кафедры музыкознания Университета Осло (Норвегия), профессор факультета изобразительного и декоративно-прикладного искусства Университета Чулалонгкорн (Бангкок, Таиланд)

*Skjellstad Muller Kjell – Professor Emeritus at Department of Musicology, University of Oslo (Norway), Visiting Professor at Faculty of Fine and Applied Arts of Chulalongkorn University (Bangkok, Thailand)*

**Султанова Разия** – доктор искусствоведения, профессор Лондонского Университета (Лондон, Великобритания)

*Sultanova Razia – Doctor of Art Studies, Professor at University of London (London, Great Britain).*

**Тран Куанг Хай** – доктор искусствоведения, сотрудник лаборатории народной музыки Института мировой музыки (Париж, Франция).

*Trân Quang Hai – Doctor of Arts, Associate in the Laboratory of the Institute of Folk Music of the World (Paris, France)*

**Утегалиева Сауле** – кандидат искусствоведения, профессор Казахской национальной консерватории имени Курмангазы (Алматы, Казахстан)

*Dr. Saule Utegalieva, Ph.D., Professor of the Kazakh National Conservatory named after Kurmangazy (Almaty, Kazakhstan)*

**Хеметек Урсула** – доктор искусствоведения, профессор Института исследований народной музыки и этномузыкологии, Университет музыки и изобразительных искусств (Вена, Австрия)

*Univ. Prof. Dr. Ursula Hemetek – Institute for Folk Music Research and Ethnomusicology, University of Music and Performing Arts (Vienna, Austria)*

**Хнараки Мария** – директор Центра исследований греческой культуры Дрексельского университета (Филадельфия, США)

*Hnaraki Maria – Director of Greek Studies at Drexel University (Philadelphia, USA)*

**Шваб Александр** – доктор искусствоведения (Кельн, Германия).

*Dr. Alexander Schwab – the doctor of art Studies (Cologne, Germany)*

**Швед Инна Анатольевна** – доктор филологических наук, профессор кафедры белорусского литературоведения Брестского государственного университета им. А.С. Пушкина (Брест, Беларусь)

*Shved Inna – Ph.D., Professor at the Byelorussian Literary Criticism Department of the Pushkin Brest State University (Brest, Belarus)*

**Шипош Янош** – доктор наук, старший научный сотрудник Института музыкологии Венгерской академии наук, профессор Музыкальной академии имени Ференца Листа (Будапешт, Венгрия)

*Sipos János – Ph.D., Senior Researcher at Institute for Musicology of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Professor at Franz Liszt Music Academy (Budapest, Hungary).*

**P 136 PAX SONORIS:** Научный журнал. Выпуск VI. / Гл. ред. – Е.М. Шишкина. – Астрахань, 2012. – 244 с.

**P 136 PAX SONORIS:** *Scientific Magazine. Edition VI. / Ch. ed. – E.M. Shishkina. – Astrakhan, 2012. – 244 p.*

**ISBN 978-5-902742-60-9**

**ISSN 2222-4343**

Международный этномузыкологический периодический научный журнал «PAX SONORIS» аккумулирует статьи по проблемам теории этномузыкознания, теории музыки и эстетики и когнитивного музыкознания, структурно-типологических исследований и внеевропейской теории музыки, материалы по традиционным культурам народов мира, этногенезу, этнопсихологии и этносоциологии, этноинструментоведению и истории фольклористики, краеведению и прикладной этномузыкологии, музыкальной социологии, музыкальной журналистики и вопросам музыкального образования.

В журнале пересекаются современные задачи и вопросы музыкальной фольклористики, этнографии, филологии, лингвофольклористики, диалектологии, этнопсихологии и этносоциологии, общей антропологии и академического музыкознания. Благодаря деятельности с 2011 года Международного совета журнала российский читатель получил возможность в VI выпуске ознакомиться не только с достижениями отечественных этномузыкологов, но и других стран: Белоруссии, Казахстана, Украины, Сербии, Сингапура, Тайваня, Германии и Австрии.

Редколлегия журнала особенно близка рубрика о фольклорных экспедициях, которая включает в себя не только воспоминания разных лет, но и рассказывает о знатоках народных традиций: певцах, инструменталистах. Каждый этномузыколог хранит в своем личном «домашнем» архиве массу неопубликованных материалов, и хотелось бы их увидеть хотя бы частично на страницах «PAX SONORIS».

Журнал адресован педагогам и студентам высших и средних музыкальных учебных заведений, ученым, специалистам в области музыкознания, фольклористики, краеведения и педагогики, а также широкому кругу читателей, интересующихся развитием музыкального искусства в целом.

Редакция журнала не всегда разделяет точку зрения авторов. При перепечатке ссылка на журнал обязательна.

*The present edition considers the actual present-day issues of Art Studies.*

*Edition VI includes the following sections: «The Theory of Music and Aesthetics», «East and West Traditional Cultures Ethnic Identity in the Modern World: myths and reality», «East and West Traditional Music Heritage: Dialogue of Civilizations and Cultures», «East and West Current Traditional Cultures. Mythology and Religion: Interference and Interpenetration» etc.*

*The target audience of this magazine are teachers and students of higher and secondary musical educational institutions, professionals in the field of musicology, folkloristics, regional ethnography and education science as well as general readers who are interested in development of musical art.*

*The magazine editorial staff's point of view may differ from that of the authors. The information contained in this magazine cannot be reproduced without reference to this magazine.*

**ISBN 978-5-902742-60-9**

**ISSN 2222-4343**

**ББК 85.310 (2)**

Формат 60х84х/8. Бумага офсетная.

Печать трафаретная. Усл. печ. л. 28,2. Заказ № 836. Тираж 250 экз.

Отпечатано в ООО КПЦ «Полиграфком»

г. Астрахань, пл. Дж. Рида, 1. Тел.: 44 80 44, 39 44 24

© ОГБУК «Государственный фольклорный центр «Астраханская песня», 2012

© *The State Folklore Center «Astrakhanskaya Pesnya», 2012*